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The American Nation: A History. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume 3. *Spain in America, 1450-1580.* By EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE, Ph.D., Professor of History, Yale University. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1904. Pp. xx, 350.)

THIS volume deals with two allied but distinct subjects, namely, the discovery and exploration of the New World, and Spanish colonial policy and administration with the effects on the conquered races and the colonists—subjects of sufficient interest and importance to have deserved separate volumes. But for Professor Bourne's mastery of his material and his lucid style, the result might have been disastrous; but as both the author, and the general editor for him, claim only to have selected and summarized, the reviewer perhaps, while criticizing the plan, has no right to complain because the former has not done more than he set out to do.

Concerning Columbus Professor Bourne has used and collated the latest investigations and has added some shrewd inferences of his own tending to prove the discoverer's originality and imaginative insight; but the aura of America was already felt in Europe, and even if Columbus had never returned, the discovery would probably have been made before Cabral sighted Brazil in 1500. The author is undoubtedly right in assigning Magellan a much higher place on the roll of navigators. We have a most interesting chapter devoted to the mysterious Amerigo Vespucci and the naming of America, and then a sketch of the progress of exploration, but Professor Bourne does not bring out the fact that its direction did not follow the line of least resistance, of scientific probability, or of advantageous settlement, but was simply conditioned by the prospect of gold. Rumors of gold at any point speedily caused the appearance of a devastating Spanish exploring expedition. While attractive to individual adventurers, America to the Spanish government was for long but an awkward and almost unwelcome barrier to the coveted passage to the Spice Islands. Thence the efforts to find a strait and the attempts at circumnavigation, the only essays at scientific discovery. It was not until the Potosi mines were found in 1545 that the New World was anything but a source of weakness to Spain, and then the Potosi silver, by enabling Philip II. to make war on western Europe with really insufficient resources, accelerated the ruin of the mother-country.

The record of achievement in exploration between 1492 and 1580 must be read with some limitations. Thrust with European equipment into tropical surroundings, unhealthily clad, exposed to new diseases and new forms of death, opposed by the luxuriance of tropical vegetation, vast distances, and equatorial rains, the land journeys of the conquistadors are as heroic in their tale of stubborn endurance as anything in human story, although the motives were mean and sordid and the natives were seldom able to offer effective resistance. That the

maritime exploration was relatively successful was due to the fact that it proceeded mainly in the form of coasting voyages from centres in the new conquests and not from Spain; it was not prosecuted with enthusiasm, for the Spaniards have never produced a sailorman in the sense the great seafaring races understand the word. The success of Columbus was largely due to the fact that, for political reasons, he started from the Canaries, and then the trade-wind—"the wind the seamen love . . . steady and strong and true"—took charge. Had he taken his departure from the Azores and got into the Roaring Forties, his mutinous crews would soon have forced him to come back, or he would never have been heard of again. The Spaniards quickly found that it was practically compulsory to go northward for the homeward passage, and their chronicle of shipwreck on those parallels from bad ship-building and bad seamanship is startling. However Professor Bourne does not minimize their success, for he credits Francisco de Hoces (p. 191) with the discovery of Cape Horn in 1526, while all that Urdañeta himself claimed was, "que les parescia [on board the *San Lesmes*] que era alli acabamiento de tierra", when the ship was driven southward. The balance of English opinion is in favor of Drake in 1578, and the question is at least *sub judice*.

The Spanish government merits praise for the careful collection and collation of geographical information likely to be useful to navigation at a time when the compilation and comparison of such knowledge elsewhere was left to chance or private enterprise. The pilot department of the Casa de Contratacion was founded not later than 1508, and in that year the pilot-major was ordered to prepare a standard chart, the *Padron Real*, on which all discoveries and corrections were to be marked, and from it all navigating charts were to be copied. The tendency toward theoretical excellence has always been more marked in Spanish administration than the capacity to achieve success in practice, and throughout the sixteenth century the laxness and dishonesty of the pilot department of the Casa was held responsible for the ignorant pilots it turned out notwithstanding the careful tuition and stringent examination existing in theory. In print and in theory, however, Spain kept the lead; the first text-book on navigation was published in 1519, speedily followed by others, and during the remainder of the century English and French works on the subject were copied from their Spanish fore-runners or based on them. But it is quite a mistake to say (p. 223) that the English Trinity House was an imperfect imitation of the Spanish institution. The Trinity House was a shipmen gild long before it was reincorporated in 1514, and it has never had other than occasional and subordinate relations with the English navy. The Spanish pilot department was the precursor of the hydrographical departments now a part of every admiralty, but in England no move was made by the navy authorities toward the charting of even home waters until the reign of Charles II., and another century elapsed before the North American coast was surveyed.

Less than half of the volume under review is devoted to the colonial administration of Spain, and here Professor Bourne maintains the unsatisfactory thesis that the disappearance of the native races was inevitable. He dwells on the repeated destruction of native peoples brought into contact with civilized and conquering races; but the rule does not appear to be invariable, and in neither law nor ethics is the fact that the victim is unadaptable to new conditions held to be a palliation of murder. There are incidental and general references to Spanish cruelties, but the reader will hardly gather from them that the process of adaptation, as practised by the conquistadors, included burning, roasting, mutilating, whipping, starving to death, tearing to pieces with dogs, and every new form of torture, especially on the Indian women, that could be invented by the scum of the Spanish gutters, until, as another American historian (Mr. Lea) writes, "a more terrible story never shocked humanity. Horrors are piled upon horrors until the sense becomes blunted." In *Española*, in little more than twenty years, contemporary Spanish observers, some of them government officials, estimated that the native population fell from upward of a million to ten or fourteen thousand people, but the author has unearthed a German savant who reduces the population at the discovery to between 200,000 and 300,000. Most of us prefer contemporary authority, as does the author usually. In consequence of his standpoint Professor Bourne says (p. 202) that "what Rome did for Spain, Spain in turn did for Spanish America". Not so. Rome gave its conquered subjects the Roman peace, free commerce, a literature, political ambitions, and social life; Spain gave the Spanish fury, a strangled trade, and, at the best, a mechanical and soulless existence devoid of intellectual hope or moral stimulus. Nor can any extenuation be found in the formation of new nations able to carry on the tradition of all that was good in the historical life of the mother-country, and themselves qualified to help the progress of humanity. The history of the South American states since their independence is damnatory of Spanish statesmanship. We read (p. 196) that the Spaniards "undertook the magnificent if impossible task of lifting a whole race numbering millions into the sphere of European thought, life, and religion". It would rather seem that the whole object of Spanish legislation was to keep the colonies free from the taint of European life and thought, while enforcing a superficial and external conformity in religious observance, the outcome of legal compulsion more than of spiritual conviction. The author insists on the excellence of the code of laws for the Indies, and it is true enough that it is, in the letter, a creditable record of good intentions, although it may be objected that, if the laws had been carried out in the spirit, they would at the best have kept the American populations in leading-strings and in a state of political and intellectual childhood. But it is common knowledge that, whatever the intentions of a few legislators or reformers, the Spanish government was never strong enough nor honest enough to enforce obedience to its orders, and for those with influence

or who could afford to buy impunity the laws protecting the Indians were merely curious literature. Nor were the colonists of Spanish blood in much better case. Professor Bourne seems to find something good to say for the system of selling government appointments, and there may not be much difference in results between that and the custom of social or political bribery and patronage which has succeeded it. The colonial grievance, however, was that Americans were not allowed even to purchase, that the fact of American birth was a congenital disqualification, and that every employment from that of viceroy to clerk was reserved for European Spaniards. For the American Spaniard therefore an official career was closed from the beginning; commercial success was interdicted because colonial agriculture and manufactures would compete with the Spanish; and intellectual progress was forbidden because instruction in science, or anything beyond the dialectic of the schools, would tend to introduce European aspirations and ambitions.

If the object of civilization be the increase of human happiness and well-being, it is disputable whether, outside Mexico, that introduced by the Spaniards was any advance on the pre-existing forms it supplanted by brute force; or whether the civilizations of Peru and Mexico did not contain a potentiality of progress beyond anything possible to Spain, in some respects the least fitted of European nations to undertake the task of guardianship and training. To me the story of Spanish conquest and legislation is a squalid one, and it will be seen that I am at issue with some of Professor Bourne's conclusions. The author, however, has a right to have it said that in scholarship and construction he has produced the best synopsis of the subject existing within the limits of a single volume, and that his careful references and a valuable bibliography enhance the utility of the book to the student who desires to inquire for himself.

M. OPPENHEIM.

The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century. By HERBERT L. OSGOOD, Ph.D., Professor of History in Columbia University. Vols. I. and II. *The Chartered Colonies. Beginnings of Self-Government.* (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1904. Pp. xxxii, 578; xix, 490.)

IN these volumes Professor Osgood has given us the first instalment of an institutional history of the British colonies in North America, a work finely conceived and destined, when completed, to occupy a place of first importance in the literature of American history. Following the plan which he outlines in his introduction, he has limited his field of observation to the colonies that separated from Great Britain and to the period of the seventeenth century; and in the volumes thus far published he has dealt with the internal history of the chartered colonies only, that is, of those that were proprietary and corporate. In a third volume soon to follow he will deal with the larger question of British